1: Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1940
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a description of the country which seems to be accurate (130, vol. 2, p. 238): "The aspect of Easter Island is not so barren and disgusting as navigators have told us. It is indeed almost destitute of wood, but the hills and valleys exhibit, in the eyes of seamen at least, a most agreeable verdure. The size and goodness of their potatoes, yams, sugar canes, etc. are proofs of great fertility and strong vegetation."

Contrary to their predecessors, the travelers of the nineteenth century who saw Easter Island were impressed by its apparent fertility and the richness of its plantations. Delano (5, p. 356) says of the west coast in the year 1804: "The greatest part of the island had the appearance of being capable of cultivations, and much of it was cultivated in beautiful plantations." Lisiansky (143, pp. 52-54) finds that "the eastern part of Easter Island is very pleasant. It is covered with verdure and many spots of it appeared to be planted with bananas. . . The neighborhood of the last two mentioned monuments (Vinapu) contained a greater number of habitations, and seemed better cultivated than any other spot we had yet seen. . . . The northern side appeared to be but thinly inhabited." Choris (48, p. 11) writes in 1822: "The aspect of the island was rather arid, but it appeared to us less miserable than to Cook or La Pérouse. All the higher slopes were divided in fields planted with various vegetables, whose varied nuances produced a very pleasant effect." Beechey (15, pp. 41-42) observes that the valleys were well cultivated and that the greatest attention appeared to be paid to tilling the soil. Palmer (169, p. 374) had the impression that everything was in ruins, though there were evidences of former cultivation.

In spite of Roussel's judgment (190, p. 495) to the contrary, Easter Island is fertile. Skottsberg (208, vol. 2, p. 488), our best authority on the subject, states that "where there is sufficient soil this is of good quality and quite fertile when properly cultivated, and in prehistoric and early historic times extensive plantations existed supporting a population of several thousands."

The present-day population of 456 souls is concentrated in the village of Hanga-roa. They cultivate the neighboring fields at the foot of Rano-kao and Rano-aroi. According to Mr. Edmunds, former manager of the island, two acres are necessary to support a whole family, and I am convinced that his statement is correct.

It is important to determine, as far as possible, the extent of cultivable land on Easter Island, for on this may be based an estimate of the number of inhabitants and in turn the probability that they could accomplish such a huge project as the carving of the famous statues. From a study of reports of ancient travelers and from my own observations of the island resources, I am convinced that three or four thousand natives could live on the island without fear of hunger except in time of war.

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643 Now he makes the crayfish good to eat and the *poopoo* fish, the moss, the ferns, the *katukatu-atua* plants.
778 What does the king make fertile in the country?
533 The mosses, the ferns, the *katukatu-atua* plants, the king makes grow in the country.
539 Now he makes the mosses favorable, makes the ferns favorable, he makes the roots of the *katukatu-atua* favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
He introduces the tuna fish, the *atu* fish, and the *ature* fish.
Now he makes the tuna fish favorable, he makes the *atu* favorable, he makes the *ature* favorable too.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The yams, the taro, the sweet-potatoes the king makes grow in the country.
Now he makes the yams, the sweet-potatoes, the sugar cane, the shoots favorable in the country, in the shade.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The turtle, its abdominal shell, its legs—these he makes grow in the country.
Now he makes the turtle, its abdominal shell and its legs favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The stars, the sky, the heat, the sun, the moon, the king makes fertile there above.
Now he makes the sky, the heat, the sun, and the moon favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
Going up, he makes the dew, the heat, the sun, the moon favorable.
Now he makes dew, the heat, the sun, the moon favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
The chiefs, the chiefesses he makes favorable in the country.
Now the king makes the chiefs, the chiefesses favorable.
What does the king make fertile in the country?
Worms, earwigs, beetles, the king makes fertile in the country.
Now he makes the worms, the earwigs, the beetles favorable, he makes them grow in the country.

643 The first fruits of all the products of the land were presented to the king
241 with great ceremony (described by Roussel, 190, p. 360). "Only the king could initiate the harvesting of crops which were tapu as long as he ordered them to be."

643 Certain priestly functions related to nature were incumbent on the king.
782 In time of drought he must send his son or another *ariki-paka* to perform rites beseeching Hiro to make rain fall. It may be assumed that the king also prayed to Hiro for rain, that he had something to do with the fertilizing of the fields, and that his power was beneficial to chickens.

SUPERVISION OF SEMI-RELIGIOUS ACTIVITIES

643 Assisted by a priest, the king had to eat in every house before it could
845 be occupied by its owners. He also had to perform rites on a new boat. All
553 twins were presented to him to be given a "royal name." I was unable to
342 obtain details about this name or the mystical beliefs connected with twins.

Tradition tells that the recently tattooed young men gathered in Anakena
643 and exhibited their designs to the king who sat on the head of an old image
304 to examine them. If he was satisfied with the work of the artist, he said to the young man, "Ka hoa ki Tuna-roa" (Go to the ahu Tuna-roa), but if he

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JOINT PROPERTY

Roussel (190, p. 428) says that the fields were planted and the crops harvested in common by the members of a household or by the people living at the same place [lineage]. The workers were rewarded with a feast (*hatu*), the size of which depended upon the extent of the land and the importance of the owner. The dimensions given by early voyagers for the dwelling houses suggest that several biological families, probably closely related, lived together.

Near the foundations of ancient houses are generally found chicken houses of stone in which the fowls were kept during the night. It is impossible to determine now what system of property was applied as regards poultry. Hens undoubtedly had a great value and were used for exchange. Today fowls are personal property and every man identifies his hens by an ownership mark cut on the legs. I was unable to discover whether ownership marks were used in ancient times or adopted under Chilian influence.

Today everyone gives freely of his clothes and of cooking and tilling implements. Between relatives there is a constant exchange of gifts conforming to patterns of reciprocity. Children are permitted to use anything they need from the houses of either their paternal or maternal relatives. During his first stay on the island, Eyraud was obliged by the natives to build a boat. They gathered wood from all over the island and everyone participated in the construction of the truly "national boat."

The few boats on Easter Island are joint property of all those who have contributed to their building, either in work or in furnishing wood. One such boat belongs to seven men, and each must give his permission before the boat can be used. The joint owners of a boat fish together and divide their catch among their own families. If the canoe belongs to a single person, those who help him fish receive the least desirable fish, and the owner keeps the tuna fish.

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT

THIEVERY

The thievery of Easter Islanders has been stressed by all visitors and their dishonesty has become as famous as their statues. Even when the Europeans avenged the small thefts by slaughtering the unarmed natives, the islanders continued to steal. They used the charms of their women to distract the seamen while they robbed them of their hats or handkerchiefs.

The thievery of the natives is not merely the result of uncontrolled desire for many new and astonishing things. Their dishonesty appears innate and systematic; they enjoy stealing the fruits they have given to their visitors as much as the theft of cloth or European articles. Their bartering with the white men is absolutely unscrupulous; they filled with stones the baskets

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children were rarely admitted to such feasts. Zumbohm (230, vol. 6, p. 241) was told by natives that the fingers and toes were the most palatable bits.

Cannibalism was closely associated with war; the victors feasted on the corpses of the defeated and killed prisoners to be eaten. Geiseler (87, p. 30) says that "when they had many captives, they shut them in huts erected for that purpose in front of the stone idols. They were kept there until a great feast was celebrated for the victory and food consumed in abundance. On occasion of these feasts the victims were killed in honor of the gods." Legends tell of grown persons and children who were slaughtered during peace time by warriors craving human flesh. (See 215, p. 427; 230, vol. 6, p. 241.) These acts were deeply resented by the relatives of the victims who took cruel revenge for the crime, which was considered a terrible insult to the family.

Traditional history frequently alludes to cannibalism. The long war between the Tuu and Hotu-iti districts was indirectly caused by two men who craved human flesh (p. 74). When Tuu was victorious and the Hotu-iti people were crowded on Marotiri, the victorious party organized regular raids to kill them. The corpses were taken back in canoes and distributed among the warriors to be eaten. A quarrel about a corpse precipitated the final defeat of the Tuu district. The Hotu-iti men besieged in the caves celebrated their victory by eating some of the enemies they had slain in their successful attack. Other tales show that some individuals did not hesitate to commit murder to satisfy their appetites.

AGRICULTURE AND COOKING

GROUND CULTIVATION

It is difficult to estimate the extent of cultivated ground in ancient times. Certainly the peninsula of Poike was as desolate in pre-European times as it is today, with the possible exception of the land near the three hills where some water was available. The interior of the island was apparently always sparsely inhabited. Evidences of ancient agriculture in the form of enclosures of varying sizes are found scattered over the island, generally near old ahus. According to natives, some of these enclosures were built after European contact to protect the crops from voracious sheep and goats. This statement must be true for material from ancient monuments has been used in their construction. The extent of ground so protected is not great, but if one considers the number of enclosures and the fact that many were built when the population was decreasing, it is evident that the natives took an interest in the cultivation of the soil which must not be underestimated.

Knoche, who paid some attention to the agriculture of Easter Island seems to have had a poor opinion of the native plantations of his time (1912). He

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241 writes (123, p. 124): "All the cultures in the surroundings of Hanga-roa are in bad shape and covered with weeds. They are not manured and their limits are badly indicated." Actually the aspect of each field varies with its owner and most of the plantations which I saw were as well cared for as those in Europe.

The impression that one receives by reading the descriptions of the first visitors to the island is that plantations were numerous and well ordered. The symmetry of the fields "prettily laid out by line" or "in a rectangular figure" is generally stressed in these early accounts (130, vol. 2, p. 259; 53, vol. 1, p. 294) as well as the fact that there were neither fences nor hedges except around the paper mulberry plantations. A mulch of dried grass was laid over some of the fields to protect the crops from the heat of the sun, to retain moisture, and to serve as manure (83, vol. 1, p. 579; 215, p. 456). Grass was sometimes "burnt in heaps" in order to fertilize the soil with its ashes. De Langle (130, vol. 1, p. 78) praises the soil as "a very fat vegetable earth, very proper for the culture of our grain." Beechey (15, vol. 1, p. 41) saw numerous fields along the north coast which, if his statements are correct, bore the mark of an advanced technique: "Such places as were not immediately exposed to the scorching rays of the sun were laid out in oblong strips taking the direction of the ravines; and furrows were ploughed at right angles to them, for the purposes of intercepting the streams of water in their descent."

412 241 The digging stick was used until 1912. It has since been displaced by the plow, the spade, and the iron stick.

[177] There were two kinds of digging sticks. One was very solid, called *oka* or *huki*, and was used to loosen the soil, to break up clods of earth, and to remove stones. It was sometimes replaced by an oblong stone. The other (*akaue*) was thinner, a real dibble used to plant tubers. To plant yams or sweet potatoes is *hao*; to plant sugar cane or bananas is *oka*. The ancient word for "to harvest," "dig out" yams, taro, or sweet potatoes is *huaki*, but the word *keri* is more generally known today. The act of weeding is called *vere*.

241 462 Agriculture is largely the work of men though harvesting is done by both men and women. Men plant tubers and sow corn. Formerly the entire extended family cooperated in the tilling of the soil and in planting, but nowadays agriculture is carried on by the owner of the fields, his wife, or his children. Crops were under a *rahui* (tapu) until the moment of harvesting was [821] authorized by the chief. The positions of certain stars (*matamea*) fixed the time for crops and the harvest was accompanied by great feasts.

241 The efforts of ancient agriculturalists have been greatly underestimated. It is no easy task to remove the stones from the ground, to pull up the long-rooted weeds which cover it, then to loosen the soil, to build mounds, and finally to cover the young plants with grass. These requirements, coupled with the fact that the climate permits the growing of crops the year around, explain why Easter Islanders do not cultivate large areas.

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CULTIVATED PLANTS

Hotu-matua is said to have brought to Easter Island all the plants that the natives formerly cultivated, some of which they still raise on a small scale. There is little doubt that most of these plants were growing on the island when the first discoverers landed there. Some additional varieties may have been introduced later, when active intercourse between Tahiti and Easter Island became common. On the other hand, many varieties and forms of plants have died out and some species, the arrowroot (*pia*) for example, have entirely disappeared. In 1780 La Pérouse (130, vol. 1, p. 78) made the first attempt to introduce new plants on the island. The gardener of his expedition sowed cabbage, carrot, beet, corn, and gourd seeds together with orange, citron, and cotton. Nothing is known as to the fate of these plants or the natives' attitude toward them. The missionaries, especially Roussel, and later the colonist Salmon, greatly increased the resources of the island by introducing useful plants and trees. Figs and mulberry trees, grapes, peaches, *miro-tahiti* (*Melia azedarach*), and acacias are associated in the natives' memory with the name of Father Roussel who first brought them to the island. The English managers residing at Mataveri have done much to acquaint the natives with new kinds of food.

Sweet Potato

The sweet potato (*Ipomoea batatas*) is known as *kumara*. Its importance to Easter Islanders is symbolically expressed in the following sentence in which a woman of the island epitomizes the monotony of life in that isolated land: "Here we begin at birth by eating sweet potatoes, then we go on eating sweet potatoes, and finally we die." Eyraud (81, vol. 38, p. 126), the first European to live a long time with the Easter Islanders, says: "They cook the eternal sweet potatoes. It is the everyday dish, the invariable staple food of the Kanaka, big and small." Behrens (18, vol. 1, p. 130) correctly states that sweet potatoes take the place of bread on Easter Island. Cook (53, vol. 1, p. 288) asserts that the sweet potatoes he ate on the island were the best he ever tasted, and Thomson (215, p. 456) reiterates the statement. According to G. Forster (83, vol. 1, p. 573) they were "gold, yellow and as sweet as carrots and extremely nourishing."

Sweet potatoes thrive in well-drained soil and porosity is one of the chief characteristics of Easter Island ground. Nowadays ground for the cultivation of sweet potatoes is tilled with the plow, but the old method of sticking (*hao*) the stems with buds (*tumu hua*) into small earth mounds (*puku*) is still used. I was told that when the plant is high the mound around it is raised (*puke*) in order to prevent attacks of insects and rot. The term *kau* applies to the stems of the potato which root to form the new plant; *roria* applies to the

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white men. However, no early visitor mentions the arrowroot and it is not cultivated today. It may have been replaced by manioc. 244

Coconut

In the second part of the nineteenth century, some coconut trees or simply some coconuts (*niu, makoi*) were brought to the island either by Easter Islanders returning from Tahiti or by missionaries. This explains why Palmer (171, p. 170) saw large coconut bowls, although he was unable to find any coconut trees. It is probably to that attempt at coconut cultivation that Tepano alluded when he told me that in his mother's time there were some coconut trees at Poike, near Maunga Teatea. They are purported to have been destroyed during the war between the Miru and the Tupa-hotu. Tepano affirms having seen ancient boxes made from coconuts. The two trees now growing on the island were planted by Salmon. 245 177 [415]

Foreign Plants

Plants of European or American origin, now cultivated on Easter Island, are peas (*pipi*), beans (*ariko*), melons (*melone*), watermelons (*santia*), onions (*onioni*), manioc (*manioko*), maize (*tarake*), pepper (*oporo*), and pineapple (*anana*). Fig trees (*pika*) and mulberries (*monamona*) are abundant but the natives care little for their fruits. 241 177 262

The island soil is particularly favorable for beans and though the islanders complain that potatoes do not thrive, those of the English resident are the best I have tasted anywhere. The Williamson and Balfour Company is trying to develop the cultivation of maize by the natives, who have prospects of selling it at good prices, but few islanders have taken advantage of the opportunity.

Comparison with Cultivated Plants on other Polynesian Islands

The plants introduced and cultivated on Easter Island in early days are all Polynesian species. Due to the cold climate there are no breadfruit trees on the island and the two coconut trees do not bear fruit. In this respect Easter Island resembles Rapa where, because of the cold, there are no breadfruits, coconuts, and probably no pandanus. 241 171

Easter Island has no kava though kava was consumed on Mangareva and in the Marquesas whence the Easter Islanders probably came. Perhaps the Easter Island climate is unfavorable. The name kava is used on Easter Island in the composite form *kavakava atua*, designating a fern. Kava is also absent on Rapa though the climate there is suitable for its growth.

In the Marquesas as on Easter Island sugar cane and paper mulberry were cultivated in enclosures (104, p. 67).

4:Metraux E-5 (1934-1935) 1945
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ments and works of art. His idea was that since I had books and photographs showing the designs and he had the manual skill we might form an ideal, not to say a profitable, partnership. I must confess that on several occasions the islanders' skillful imitations completely deceived me, and I thus acquired a beautiful collection of ancient stone hooks that I only gradually realized were modern copies.

This continued practice of the traditional arts has a certain historical bearing. It suggests that there has never been a complete breach in Easter Island civilization and that the present natives, however mixed in blood they may be, are, nevertheless, the successors in direct line of the unknown men who carved the old wooden images that are nowadays prized specimens in our museums.

Unfortunately, this is not the only old custom which has survived. From the time when the Dutch discovered the island to the present, its people have had the reputation of being the cleverest thieves in the South Seas, and quite rightly. This complaint is repeated in all the accounts of the early navigators, and many of the dramatic incidents on the beach of Hangaroa have arisen from the natives' brazen contempt for the sanctity of private property. Only the sensitive and elegant French explorer La Pérouse adopted the policy of laughing at such pilfering, and paid no further attention to it. He and his men were amused by the attitude of the native women who helped their mates pick pockets by distracting the attention of innocent victims through entreaties and "ludicrous gestures."

The natives of our day are just as thievish as their forefathers, and this wayward disposition is the cause of endless troubles for the English company which has leased the island from the Chilean Government for sheep raising. To prevent constant stealing of the sheep the company put barbed wire across the island in an attempt to force the people to remain within the bounds of their village. But such drastic measures were of little avail, and in the year I spent there 3,000 sheep disappeared. Though the culprits are known to the whole community, family loyalty protects them and makes investigation useless.

Otherwise the natives are law-abiding and peaceful; there are very few records of murder or bloody violence among them. The only criminal we heard of was one of our guides, who, ironically enough, proved to be about the only honest man on the island.

The people live as they did in the past, on the produce of their fields. Taros, sweetpotatoes, yams, bananas, and sugarcane grow abundantly on the fertile volcanic soil. The only wants they cannot supply themselves are for manufactured goods such as soap. And they like especially to get foreign clothing. In this matter, the men

6: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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The island extends to about 50 miles in circumference; [13] but no harbour capable of affording shelter to a single vessel of moderate burthen was met with. The whole of the shore-line is beset with reefs, cliffs, and rough ground, without containing any spot fit to beach a boat at. On penetrating inland in a few places they met with many natives, with whom they held intercourse, and they observed in them the same manners, customs, and ceremonies as in those of this bay; experiencing among them the same disposition to theft. They saw no kind of wild nor domestic animal, excepting hens and some rats. The fields are uncultivated save some small plots of ground, in which they sow beds of *yuca*, yams, sweet potatoes, and several plantations of plantains and sugar-cane: but all very tasteless, as if from want of cultivation. They did not find any metal, nor any ornaments of that kind in the natives' habitations. All this account tallies with the observations we have gathered in this bay, on whose slopes, and on those throughout the island, not a single tree is to be found capable of furnishing a plank so much as six inches in width; but there are plenty of shrubs or brush-wood of a sort little more than an *estada*[1] in height, which offer little obstruction to one in passing as they are not dense and have no prickles. Its trees are very similar to mimosas and tamarinds. Of fruit-bearing trees I have seen only some very small figs, but so different from ours that they are recognisable as such only by the scent of the leaf, and the white juice which exudes from them. It is certain that they bear fruit, because the natives were eating some dry figs on board, which we gave them from those of Mendoza, and they called them *gecoy*. The island is destitute of every kind of bird: not a single bird has been

133 231 241 135 137 136

[1] An *estadal* or *estada* is equivalent to four *varas* of about 33 inches each, *i.e.* 11 feet.

7: Anonymous T-5 (1770)1908
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When we sat down to eat we noticed that they all withdrew, and that only one remained, as if to watch; I ordered my servant to give this one a little cooked rice and salt pork, all of which he ate and found much to his taste. When we had finished dinner we betook ourselves for a stroll on the island: our people were again warned to do no injury to the natives nor to their plantations. When we had walked up the slope of the beach we found all those whom we had previously seen, and we passed over in a body without saying anything to them until they, putting aside their shyness, came close up to our people and conducted us to see a long dwelling-house which was about a quarter of a league off. This house was 27 paces in length, 2½ *varas* high at the centre, and 1½ *varas* at the ends, more or less; and at the middle part was a doorway 1 *vara* in height. It was framed on some six poles of 4 *varas* long, and a span[1] in thickness. After having shown us this sumptuous edifice, they began to sing and to dance by way of paying us a compliment and being very happy at seeing us. We walked about two leagues, and at that distance (throughout which many islanders accompanied us) we saw a plantain garden which stretched about a quarter of a league in extent, and was about half that distance in breadth. There were other small plantain gardens, and several plantations and fields of sugar-cane, sweet potatoes, taro, yams, white gourds, and plants like those whose leaves are employed at the Callao for making mats. We saw a root which they chew and daub their bodies and limbs all over with: it is good for yielding a very fine yellow dye[2]. At dusk we made back to our launches to stay the night, without our peaceful relations with the natives having been

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[1] *Un 'xeme,'* i.e. *jeme*, the distance from the tip of the thumb to the tip of the forefinger.

[2] No doubt this refers to turmeric—a common plant in most Pacific islands.

8: Behrens T-5 (1721-1722) 1908
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500 live fowls, which were like those of the Vierländen, this time without any boiled or roast ones, together with many roots, some red, some white, a good lot of potatoes which tasted almost like bread, and which are used by these people in the same way; and some hundreds of sugar-canes, great quantities of *pisang*[1], being Indian figs as large as a cucumber a span in length and of proportionate thickness, with a green rind. When one peels this off [the pulp] tastes like figs, or as sweet as honey: there are sometimes as many as a hundred on a single bunch. The leaf is from two to three feet broad and from six to eight feet in length. It is with these that our first parents should have covered themselves in Paradise after their unfortunate Fall, because it is almost the largest and strongest leaf which one meets with in Morning and Evening lands.

No animals were met with, as far as we penetrated on this occasion, except sundry species of birds; but there may be many other animals farther in the interior of the country, as the natives seemed acquainted with pigs when they saw some on board our ships.

The natives prepare their meals in pots made of clay or earth. Each household appeared to us to have its own.

The houses were from forty to sixty feet [*schuh*] long, six to eight feet [*schuh*] in width, and of similar height, set up on wooden stakes, daubed over with luting and covered in with palm leaves. As regards their subsistence it appears that it must be procured by tillage of the soil, as we saw it everywhere planted and bearing crops. Moreover the fields or lands were all measured off with a cord, and very neatly cultivated. At the time of our visit all their crops were maturing: the fields and trees were in full bearing, and I feel sure that if we had explored this country right through many good things would have been met with, since we were there in just the best season of the year.

No remarkable furniture was found inside their houses, except some red and white coverlets [*decken*] which they often use as apparel, and also for sleeping under. These coverlets felt like silk, to the touch, so that one could almost conclude they had looms by means of which they made them themselves.

These natives were universally blithe and merry, well-built, strong in limb, not exactly slender, yet nimble on their feet; friendly and pleasant in manner, but submissive withal, and also very timid. Most of them, when bringing any object such as

[1] *Pisang* is the Malayan generic term for the banana.

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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have been glad to have aſcertained this circumſtance, but the natives always denied us admittance into theſe places. 1774. MARCH.

A plantation of ſugar-canes and one of bananas adjoined to the houſe we had viſited, and both were in excellent order, conſidering the ſtony quality of the ground. The bananas were all growing in holes one foot deep, which we ſuppoſed to be contrived for collecting the rain, and preſerving it for a longer time about the plant. The ſugar-canes were about nine or ten feet high, even in this parched country, and contained a very ſweet juice, which the inhabitants preſented to us very frequently, and particularly whenever we aſked for ſomething to drink. We concluded from thence that they had no water on the iſland; but coming back to the landing-place we met captain Cook, whom the natives had conducted to a well very cloſe to the ſea, which was cut deep into the rock, but full of impurities. When our people had cleared it, they found the water in it rather brackiſh, but the natives drank of it with much ſeeming ſatisfaction.

Captain Cook had not been very fortunate in trading with the people. They ſeemed indeed to be ſo deſtitute as to have no proviſions to ſpare. A few matted baſkets full of ſweet potatoes, ſome ſugar-canes, bunches of bananas, and two or three ſmall fowls ready dreſſed, were the whole purchaſe which he had made for a few iron tools, and ſome Taheitee cloth. He had preſented the people with

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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1774. MARCH. being probably no other land-birds on the iſland than the common fowl, which were tame and extremely ſcarce. We followed one of the paths which the natives had made, till we came to a cultivated ſpot, conſiſting of ſeveral fields planted with ſweet potatoes, yams, and eddoes, together with a ſpecies of night-ſhade, which is made uſe of at Taheitee and the neighbouring iſlands as a vulnerary remedy, *(ſolanum nigrum?)* and may, for ought I know, be cultivated here for the ſame purpoſe. The graſs, which commonly ſprings up among the ſtones on the uncultivated ſoil, was here carefully plucked up, and ſpread over the whole plantation as a manure, or perhaps to preſerve it in ſome meaſure from the parching beams of the ſun. It ſhould ſeem from theſe circumſtances that the natives are not altogether ignorant of rural œconomy, and till the ground at a great expence of time and labour. At a little diſtance from theſe fields we met with two huts, conſtructed exactly like that which I have mentioned page 569, but much ſmaller. The entrance was ſtopped up with a great quantity of ſmall bruſhwood, and we at firſt imagined that we heard the voices of women within, but after liſtening for ſome time we heard nothing farther to confirm us in this belief. We rambled from thence to the top of a hillock covered with ſhrubberies, which we found to conſiſt of nothing but a ſpecies of *mimoſa*, that ſcarcely attained the height of eight feet, and afforded us very little ſhelter from the

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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we saw no tools; or raised and erected by them without machinery. The general appellation of this range was *Hanga* Teäòw; hanga being the word which they prefix to every range. The names of the statues were *Ko**-*Tomoäi*, *Ko-Tomoëreee*, *Ko-Hòo oo*, *Morabèena*, *Oomarèeva*, *Weendloo*, *Weenapè*. 1774. MARCH.

"From hence we continued our march to the northward along the sea, having a precipice on our right. The ground was the same ferrugineous *tufa* for a considerable way, covered with small fragments; but after some time we came to a spot which was a single coherent rock or lump of black melted lava, which appeared to contain some iron. There was no soil, grass, or plant whatsoever upon it. Beyond it we passed through a number of plantations of bananas, potatoes, and yams, and one of eddoes. The grass between the stones was plucked up and spread on the land, to screen it from the sun, to keep the moisture of the rain in it, and at last to manure it.

"The natives continued to offer some potatoes for sale ready dressed, and, at a hut where we halted, they sold us some fish. Some of them carried arms, which were no other than the thin sticks we had seen before, and which were headed with a black vitreous lava, carefully wrapped in a small piece of cloth. Only one of them had a battle-axe, resembling that of the New Zealanders, though much shorter. It had a head carved on each side, and a small round portion of the black glass above mentioned instead of eyes.

* *Ko* is the article, as at New Zealand and in the Friendly Isles.

9: Forster T-5 (1774) 1777
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of Taheitee. The monarchical government likewiſe ſtrengthens the affinity between the Eaſter Iſlanders and the tropical tribes, its prerogatives being only varied according to the different degrees of fertility of the iſlands, and the opulence or luxury of the people. Eaſter Iſland, or, as the natives call it, WAIHU, is ſo very barren, that the whole number of plants growing upon it does not exceed twenty ſpecies, of which far the greater part is cultivated*; though the ſpace which the plantations occupy is inconſiderable, compared with that which lies waſte. The ſoil is altogether ſtoney, and parched by the ſun, and water is ſo ſcarce, that the inhabitants drink it out of wells which have a ſtrong admixture of brine; nay, ſome of our people really ſaw them drink of the ſea-water when they were thirſty. Their habit of body muſt, in ſome meaſure, be influenced by theſe circumſtances; they are meagre, and their muſcles hard and rigid; they live very frugally, and, in general, go almoſt wholly naked, only covering the head, which is the moſt ſenſible of heat, with feathered caps, and puncturing or daubing the reſt with colours. Their ideas of decency are, of courſe, very different from thoſe of nations who are accuſtomed to clothing. They cut ſhort their hair and beards

* The Spaniards mention white calabaſhes, (*pompions,*) among the vegetable productions of this iſland; but we did not ſee any.—See Mr. Dalrymple's judicious letter to Dr. Hawkeſworth.

from

10: Cooke D-5 (1886) 1899
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764 of several individuals may be found in one receptacle, and at one of the platforms a collection of skulls alone was discovered in a sepulcher which was opened.

The rats, which by reason of the loose manner of interment have free access to the remains, no doubt perform an important office as scavengers in disposing of the soft parts, since in no single instance were any bones found, either human or sheep—and the skeletons of both were frequently fallen in with—which were not completely denuded, and the fine litter, which was almost invariably found in the cranial cavity, showed where the rodents had been nest-hiding.

262 The food of the Rapa Nuiis comprises the following principal articles: Sugar cane, taro, sweet potatoes, bananas, fowl, shell and other fish in large quantities, tomatoes, pumpkins, figs, pigs, and rarely sheep and cattle.

417 Their manner of cultivating the soil is of the simplest description. Owing to the depredations of the numberless sheep and cattle, they are compelled to keep all their cultivated patches carefully inclosed, and as there is no wood on the island which can be applied to that purpose they are forced to use volcanic stones. Occasionally, therefore, one may see a wall about 2 feet thick by 6 or 8 feet high inclosing a plot of ground perhaps 50 feet square, in which will be found a variety of the plants above mentioned growing luxuriantly.

The average Rapa Nuiis, however, perhaps wisely, prefers a fence ready made to building one himself, and therefore selects the standing stone walls of one or more of the old houses, which he appropriates to his purpose. There are many of these scattered over the island, particularly on the eastern half. These require but little repair to put them in order and secure against the entrance of sheep, and, although small, they amply suffice to supply the needs of the native husbandmen. Of

241 course there is no pretense of cultivation; the ground is scratched; the article planted; the rest is intrusted to the care of the omnipotent *atua*.

The soil is rich, and ancient navigators report the island covered with vegetation, and yet one could not repress the feeling of surprise, in view of the present unpromising appearance of the surface and unfavorable surroundings, on seeing how vigorously and luxuriantly everything grew within these inclosures.

LANGUAGE OF THE RAPA NUIIS.

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NAMES OF ANIMALS.

Sheep	mamoi.
Horse	hoi.
Cattle	puaka.
Bow	oru tamahine.
Boar	oru tamaroa.
Hen	eufa.
Eel	koiro.
Black sea bass	kodoti.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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CHAPTER XV

NATIVE CULTURE IN PRE-CHRISTIAN TIMES

Sources of Information: History, Recent Remains, Living Memory—*Mode of Life:* Habitations, Food, Dress and Ornament—*Social Life:* Divisions, Wars, Marriages, Burial Customs, Social Functions.

114 It has been seen that any knowledge which exists on the island with regard to the origin of the monuments is of the most vague 127 description, and it is therefore necessary, in the attempt to solve the problem, to rely principally on indirect evidence. It becomes in particular essential to collect all possible information about the present people; not only for its intrinsic anthropological interest, but in order to find if any links connect them with the great builders, or if we must look for an earlier race.

As a first step in the search the scientist naturally turns to the most ancient accounts which he can find describing the island, its inhabitants, and remains; these are not yet two hundred years old. The first European to see it was a Dutch Admiral named Roggeveen, who came upon it on Easter Day, 1722, during his search for another and mysterious island known as Davis or David's Island.[1] He concluded that it was not the place for which he was looking, christened it Easter Island, and went further afield. His ship lay off the north side of the island for a week, but only on one day did landing take place, [137] and one or two of the party have left us short descriptions. 241 There were, they say, no big trees, but it had a rich soil and good climate; there were sugar-cane, bananas, potatoes and figs, and the natives brought them a number of fowls, estimated varyingly from sixty to five hundred.

[1] An island was reported in lat. 27° by an English buccaneer named Davis in 1687. It was, he said, five hundred miles from the coast of Chile, low and sandy, and some twelve leagues to the west of it was seen "a long tract of pretty high land." The description in no way applies to Easter, with which it has sometimes been identified. The probability seems to be that Davis was out of his reckoning, as was by no means unusual in the case of the early mariners, and it has been suggested that the island he saw was Crescent Island, the high ground in the distance being the Gambier group. The latitude of Easter Island is 27° 8′ S., that of Crescent Island is 23° 20′ S.

15:Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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from sixty to five hundred. One of the voyagers goes so far as to say that "all the country was under cultivation." As for the inhabitants, they were, they tell us, of all shades of colour, yellow, white, and brown, and wore clothes made of a "field product," evidently tapa. They were "painted," which apparently signifies tattooed, and it was the habit to distend the lobes of their ears so that they hung to the shoulders, and large discs were worn in them. "When these Indians," wrote Roggeveen, "go about any job which might set their ear-plugs wagging, and bid fair to do them any hurt, they take them out and hitch the rim of the lobe up over the top of the ear, which gives them a quaint and laughable appearance."[1]

The natives were extraordinarily thievish, stealing the caps from the seamen's heads, while one actually climbed into the port-hole of the cabin and took the cloth off the table. These habits gave rise to an unfortunate incident, as when the visitors came on shore, a scuffle took place over the sanctity of property, and the natives began throwing stones, on which a petty official gave the order to fire, ten or twelve natives being killed. The occurrence, however, was duly explained, and did not terminate amicable relations. We learn that at this time the great statues, of which this is of course the first report, were then, as has already been noted, standing and in place. The Dutchmen describe them as "remarkable, tall, stone figures, a good 30 feet in height," and notice that they have crowns on their heads; a clear space was, they said, reserved round them by laying stones. They have no doubt that the figures are objects of worship; the natives "kindle fires in front of them, and thereafter squatting on their heels with heads bowed down, they bring the palms of their hands together and alternately raise and lower them." Another observer adds, in connection with this worship, that they "prostrated themselves towards the rising sun." A great step would have been gained towards the solution of the problem if we could feel assured that these last remarks were justified and were not merely the result of imperfect observation.[2]

[1] Precisely the same habit obtains to-day among the Akikuyu in East Africa.

[2] For Roggeveen's description of the Island see *Voyage of Gonzalez*, Hakluyt Society, Series II., vol. xiii., pp. 3 to 26.
A statement of the evidence re Davis Island is given in the introduction to the same volume.

15;Routledge E-5 (1914-1915) 1919
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There is the same story of the native powers of appropriating the goods of the strangers. Cook says that they were "as expert thieves as any we had yet met with," and Pérouse, whose own hat they stole while helping him down one of the image platforms, is particularly aggrieved at such conduct, considering that he has given them sheep, goats, pigs, and other valuable presents; peace was only kept between the crew and the natives by official compensation being given the seamen for their lost property. 648

Here, however, the resemblance of these accounts with that of Roggeveen ends. The descriptions which are given by these later expeditions of the state of the country, and its facilities as a port of call, are very different from those of the Dutchmen. The Spaniards speak of it as being uncultivated save for some small plots of ground. The Englishmen are the reverse of enthusiastic. Forster calls it a "poor land," and Cook says that "no nation need contend for the honour of the discovery of this island, as there can be few places which afford less convenience for shipping." "Poultry" now consists of only a "few tame fowls"—later still we find that only one is produced. Pérouse, although he is not so depressed as Cook, tells us that only one-tenth of the land is cultivated. With regard to the population Roggeveen gives no number, and probably was not in a position to do so. The estimates made by the Spanish and English are very similar. Gonzalez puts it at nine hundred to one thousand, Cook at seven hundred; both of them, however, state that the number of women seen seemed to be disproportionately small. La Pérouse, writing of course some years later, speaks of the number as two thousand and has seen many women and children. Both English and French are interested to find that the language is similar to that spoken elsewhere in the Pacific. 241 ● [231] 161 [197]

Again, in dealing with the state of the monuments and the way in which they were regarded, the impressions of the later observers differ greatly from those of Roggeveen. The Spaniards do not tell us very much. They saw from the sea what they thought were bushes symmetrically put up on the beach, and dotted about inland; later they found that they were in reality statues, and they wondered particularly how their crowns, which they observed were of a different material, were raised into place. It was one of the Spanish officers who states, as recorded at the beginning of this book, that the seashore was lined with stone 532

The food consisted of the usual tropical products, such as potatoes, bananas, sugar-cane, and taro. Animal diet formed a very small part of it, rats being the only form of mammal; but chickens played an important rôle in native life, and the remains of the dwellings made for them are much more imposing than those for human beings. They are solid cairns, in the centre of which was a chamber, running the greater part of their length; it was entered from outside by two or more narrow tunnels, down which the chickens could pass. They were placed here at night for the sake of safety, as it was impossible to remove the stones in the dark without making a noise (fig. 86). Fish are not very plentiful, as there is no barrier reef, but they also were an article of diet, and were bartered by those on the coast for the vegetable products obtained by those further inland. Fish hooks made of stone were formerly used, and a legend tells of a man who had marvellous success because he used one made of human bone. The heroes of the tales are also spoken of as fishing with nets. There are in various places on the coast round towers, built of stone, which are said to have been look-out towers whence watchers on land communicated the whereabouts of the fish to those at sea; these contained a small chamber below which was used as a sleeping apartment (fig. 87). Turtles appear on the carvings on the rock, and are alluded to in legend, and turtle-shell ornaments were worn; but the water is too cold for them ever to have been common, and Anakena is almost the only sandy bay where they could have come on shore.

The sole form of dress was the cloth made from the paper mulberry, and known throughout the South Seas as tapa; it was used for loin-cloths and wraps, which the Spaniards describe as fastening over one shoulder. Head-gear was a very important point, as witnessed by the way the islanders always stole the caps of the various European sailors. The natives had various forms of crowns made of feathers, some of them reserved for special occasions. Cherished feathers, particularly those of white cocks, were brought out of gourds, where they had been carefully kept, to manufacture specimens for the Expedition. The crowns are generally made to form a shade over the eyes, like the head-dresses of the images. Naturally, every effort was made to find the prototype of the image hats. No one recollected ever seeing anything precisely like it, but among the pictures drawn for us of various head-decorations was a cylindrical hat